

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 PM-03 SP-02 L-01

INR-05 PRS-01 CIAE-00 ACDA-10 SAJ-01 H-01 EB-03 /055 W

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R 021650Z SEP 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3317

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USLOSACLANT

USDOCOSOUTH

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 4759

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: NATO, PFOR, NGR, TU

SUBJECT: PERMREP DISCUSSION OF US EMBARGO ON MILITARY AID FOR TURKEY

REF: STATE 204792 DTG 280026Z AUG 75

B. USNATO 4368 DTG 181800Z AUG 75

C. USNATO 4567 DTG 281547Z AUG 75(NOTAL)

SUMMARY. AT PRIVATE MEETING OF PERMREPS SEPTEMBER1, TURKISH PERMREP OUTLINED CONTINUED NEED FOR MILITARY ASSISTANCE BY OTHER ALLIES TO MAINTAIN TURKEY'S DEFENSE POSTURE IN WAKE OF US ARMS EMBARGO. AGREEMENT WAS REACHED TO CONCINUE EFFORTS IN AD HOC GOURP DELEGATION REPRESENTATIVES TO COORDINATE EFFORTS TO MEET TURKISH NEEDS. END SUMMARY.

1. AT REQUEST OF TURKISH AMBASSADOR EARLP, PERMREPS, LESS GREECE, PORTUGAL AND FRANCE, ME T SEPTEMBER 1 UNDER CHAIRMANSHIP OF ACTING SYG PANSO TO DISCUSS IMPACT ON TURKEY O OF US EMBARGO. BASIS FOR DISCUSSION WAS MILITARY COMMITTEE ASSESSMENT EARLIER
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CIRCULATED (TEXT PROVIDED IN USNATO 4581(NOTAL)). IN OPENING DISCUSSION, PANSO ALSO RECALLED THAT TURKS IN EARLY JUNE HAD CIRCULATE AT ANKARA TO SOME ALLIES LISTS OF SPARE PARTS NEEDED, AND THAT TURKEY HAD BEEN NEGOTIATING SUCCESSFULLY WITH

THE FRG ON MATTERS RELATED TO MILITARY ASSISTANCE.

2. ERALP, IN STATEMENTS ALSO DISTRIBUTED TO PERMREPS (TEXTS BELOW), POINTED OUT THAT TURKEY WAS READY TO CONSIDER ANY PROPOSALS TO MEET URGENT NEEDS THROUGH MILITARY AID, INCLUDING LOANS ON FAVORABLE CREDIT TERMS AND SALES. DESPITE INITIAL PROGRESS IN CERTAIN CASES, THREE MONTHS HAVE ELAPSED AND, APART FROM THE FRG, ARRANGMENTS HAVE NOT YET BEEN MADE WITH OTHER ALLIES TO FURNISH REQUIRED ITEMS. ERALP PROPOSED EARLY ACTION TO COORDINATE EFFORTS TO MEET TURKEY'S URGENT NEEDS. COMMENTING ON THE MEMORANDUM PREPARED BY THE MILITARY COMMITTEE, ERALP QUESTIONED SEVERAL JUDGMENTS, ESSENTIALLY ATTEMPTING TO REFUTE IMPLICATION THAT TURKISH TAKEOVER OF US BASES UNDERCUT ALLIED SECURITY GENERALLY.

3. DEPUTY MC CHAIRMAN COLLODAY COMMENTED ON DIFFICULTY IN DRAWING FINE DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN ACTIVITIES WHICH SUPPORT US AND NATO SECURITY EFFORTS, CITING INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION AS AN EXAMPLE. KRAPF (FRG) WONDERED WHETHER NATO COULD CONTRIBUTE TOWARD EFFORTS WITH MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, AND PANSAL RECALLED THAT SYG LUNS HAD SPOKEN TO THE ISSUE PUBLICLY WHEN THE COUNCIL MET WITH THE PRESIDENT DURING ITS RECENT VISIT TO THE US. ERALP SUGGESTED THAT LUNS CONSIDER RENEWED EFFORTS TO BRING TO THE ATTENTION OF US PUBLIC OPINION THE EFFECTS OF THE EMBARGO.

4. IN RESPONSE TO ERALP'S PROPOSAL THAT AD HOC GROUP MEET SOON TO EXAMINE SHOPPING LISTS AND COORDINATE AID, PANSAL SAID THAT HE WOULD ARRANGE FOR THE GROUP TO BE RECONVENED SOONEST. MENZIES (CANADA), VILLADSEN (DENMARK), BAL (BELGIUM), SELMER (NORWAY), HARTOGH (NETHERLANDS) AND SPINELLI (ITALY) STATED THEIR GOVERNMENTS WERE EXAMINING LISTS AND HOPED SOON TO BE IN A POSITION TO REACT TO TURKISH REQUEST.

5. PANSAL PROPOSED ANOTHER PRIVATE PERMREP MEETING IN ABOUT TWO WEEKS, AFTER THE AD HOC GROUP HAD MET AGAIN.

6. BEGIN TEXT.

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SPEAKING NOTES BY TURKISH PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE
AMBASSADOR ORHAN ERALP

I SHOULD LIKE TO EXTEND OUR WARM CONGRATULATIONS AND THANKS TO THOSE WHO HAVE SPEEDILY CONTRIBUTED TO AND MADE POSSIBLE THE PREPARATION OF AN UPDATED REPORT ON "THE EFFECTS OF THE US BAN ON MUTUAL AID ON TURKEY'S MILITARY POSTURE IN NATO."

I HAVE A FEW IMPORTANT POINTS TO RAISE ABOUT THE REPORT ITSELF, BUT, WITH A VIEW TO SPARE TIME FOR OUR DELIBERATIONS ON THE MAIN SUBJECT OF THIS MEETING, THAT IS ACTION TO BE UNDERTAKEN TO REMEDY THE SITUATION, I SHALL

CONFINE MYSELF TO DISTRIBUTING THEM IN WRITING.

AS I AM SURE ALL MY COLLEAGUES WOULD RECALL, THIS IS NOT THE ONLY REPORT WHICH ESTABLISHES THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE TURKISH ARMED FORCES IN ORDER TO ENABLE AND TO CONTRIBUTE EFFECTIVELY TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE STRATEGIC CONCEPT FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE NATO AREA. NEITHER IS IT THE ONLY ONE THAT CLEARLY LAYS DOWN THE VERY SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES OF THE US EMBARGO. SIX MONTHS AGO WE HAVE RECEIVED AN EXCELLENT REPORT FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MILITARY COMMITTEE ON THE EFFECTS OF THE US EMBARGO AND THE WORK FOR REMEDIAL ACTION HAS STARTED. UPON REQUEST FROM OUR ALLIES IN THE AD HOC GROUP, WE HAVE FURNISHED THREE MONTHS AGO TO THE EMBASSIES OF BELGIUM, DENMARK, THE NETHERLANDS, UK, ITALY, CANADA AND NORWAY IN ANKARA DETAILED LISTS OF OUR MOST URGENT NEEDS. THIS LIST HAS NOT BEEN DELIVERED TO THE FRG SINCE OUR BILATERAL ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC HAVE ALREADY BEEN IN THE OPERATIONAL STAGE.

WHILE THESE ACTIVITIES WERE IN PROGRESS OUR REPRESENTATIVE IN THE AD HOC GROUP HAS CONFIRMED THAT TURKEY WAS READY TO CONSIDER ANY ONE OF THE PROPOSALS TO MEET OUR URGENT NEEDS THROUGH MILITARY AID, LOAN, ON FAVOURABLE CREDIT TERMS AND SALES. HE HAS HOWEVER AT THE SAME TIME UNDERLINED THE LIMITED RESOURCES OF OUR COUNTRY IN THE FACE OF THE OVERALL NEED.

THREE MONTHS HAVE ELAPSED SINCE THEN DURING
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WHICH TIME OUR ALLIES WERE TO FIND OUT WHAT ITEMS AND UNDER WHAT TERMS THEY CAN PROVIDE. MY AUTHORITIES HAVE INFORMED ME THAT DESPITE INITIAL PROGRESS IN CERTAIN CASES, SUCH AS UK, ITALY AND BELGIUM, IT HAS NOT YET REACHED TO THE PARTIAL FIELD. IN CERTAIN OTHERS WE HAVE HAD NO INDICATION SO FAR.

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INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 PM-03 SP-02 L-01

PRS-01 INR-05 CIAE-00 ACDA-10 SAJ-01 H-01 EB-03 /055 W

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R 021650Z SEP 75
FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3318
SECDEF WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR
USLOSACLANT
USDOCOSOUTH

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 4759

LIMDIS

I AM CONFIDENT THAT ALL MY COLLEAGUES APPRECIATE THE URGENCH AND THE IMPORTANCE OF THE QUESTION. WHAT IS AT STAKE IS THE DEFENCE REQUIREMENTS OF A MEMBER OF THE ALLIANCE AND CONSEQUENTLY THAT OF THE ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE; THIS IS A MATTER WHICH CANNOT BE SUSPENDED FOR LONGER PERIODS OF TIME IN PRECARIOUS ACTICIPATION SUBJECT TO MANY VARIABLES. MY GOVERNMENT IS DETERMINED TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT IN THIS DIRECTION TO PROTECT HER VITAL INTERESTS AND NATURALLY WE TURN UPON OUT ALLIES FOR THEIR COOPERATION. THEREFORE I PROPOSE AN EARLY ACTION WITH A VIEW TO COORDINATING THE RESULTS OF THE STUDIES OF OUT ALLIES ON THEIR MEANS AND PROPOSED WAYS FOR THE MEETING OF THE MOST URGENT NEEDS OF TURKEY AND TO TAKE UP THE MATTER AGAIN IN THIS FORUM.

ON THE OTHER HAND, AS FAR AS TURKEY IS CONCERNED, THERE ARE LONGER TERMS QUESTIONS TO BE TACKLED IN RELATION TO THE US EMBARGO. WHETHER THE EMBARGO WILL BE LIFTED IN FUTURE, AND IF SO UNDER WHAT MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE CONDITIONS AND TO WHAT EXTENT, WHAT KIND OF COOPERATION AND COLLABORA-
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TION CAN TURKEY DEVELOP IN THE DEFENCE PROVUREMENT FIELD WITH HER EUROPEAN ALLIES ARE QUESTIONS WHICH REMAIN TO BE SEEN AND DECIDED UPON IN THE NEAR FUTURE AND FOR THE LONG HAUL. IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO CONSIDER THE EFFORTS AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE US EMBARGO AS A MERELY PROVISIONAL ONE. THEY ARE OF A NATURE TO AFFECT OUT FUTURE RELATIONSHIP WITH OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES IN A WAY TO BROADEN OUT DEFENCE COOPERATION FOR THE SECURITY OF ALL. IN FACT PARA 12 OF THE MILITARY APPRECIATION REPORT CONTAINS COME CONSIDERATIONS ON SUCH AN APPROACH. WE EXPECT, HOWEVER, THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TURKEY'S FORCE GOALS SHOULD URGENTLY FOLLOW THE NORMAL PROCEDURE, WITH DUE REGARD TO THE DIFFICULTIES OF TURKEY IN MEETING SUCH FORCE GOALS IN VIEW OF THE SHORTCOMINGS IMPOSED UPON HER BY THE EMBARGO WHICH EVER FORM IT MAY EVENTUALLY TAKE.

WE HAVE MENTIONED THE NECESSITY OF TAKING UP IMMEDIATELY THE PROBLEM OF TURKEY'S URGENT NEEDS. THIS SHOULD NOT PRECLUDE US IN A NEAR BUT SUBSEQUENT STAGE FROM TAKING UP THE STUDY OF ENABLING TURKEY TO MEET HER FORCE GOALS UNDER EXISTING FACTUAL CIRCUMSTANCES.

TALKING POINTS ON THE MEMORANDUM "THE EFFECT OF THE US
BAN ON MUTUAL AID ON TURKEY'S MILITARY POSTURE IN NATO"
(DCMCM-25-75)

1. THE MEMORANDUM IN PARA 5 POINTS OUT THAT THE CONTRIBUTION TO NATO OF US MILITARY FORCES IN TURKEY CANNOT BE EFFECTIVELY CARRIED WITHOUT UNIMPEDED OPERATIONS AT ALL US INSTALLATIONS ON HER SOIL. MY AUTHORITIES ARE UNABLE ENTIRELY TO SHARE THIS OPINION, IN VIEW OF THE SIZE AND THE STRUCTURE OF THE US FORCES IN TURKEY ON THE ONE HAND AND ON THE OTHER THE NUMBER AS WELL AS THE FUNCTIONS OF THE US BASES THERE. THIS EXPRESSION ALSO TENDS TO PRESENT THE US INSTALLATIONS IN TURKEY AS SERVING EXCLUSIVELY THE US FORCES ASSIGNED TO NATO AND OMITTS THE NON-NATO FUNCTIONS OF THE FORCES AND THE INSTALLATIONS IN QUESTION.

THIS VERY FACT TOGETHER WITH THE LEGAL BASIS OF THE AGREEMENTS IN QUESTION HAS INDEED SERVED AS A YARD STICK OF DISTINCTION FOR MY GOVERNMENT IN HER LATEST DECISION ON THE SUSPENSION OF US BASE OPERATIONS.

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2. THE MEMORANDUM STATES IN PARA 7 THAT THE DISRUPTION OF THE ACTIVITIES CITED IN THE SAME PARA OF THE BASES PROVIDED IN TURKEY WOULD HAVE A DETRIMENTAL EFFECT ON THE DEFENSIVE POSTURE OF THE SOUTHERN REGION AND OF THE ALLIANCE. I WOULD LIKE FIRST TO CLARIFY THAT THE ACTIVITIES IN QUESTION ARE NOT PERFORMED EXCLUSIVELY BY THE US BASES AND THERE IS NO QUESTION OF DISRUPTING NATO RELATED ACTIVITIES AS I HAVE PREVIOUSLY STATED. THIS JUDGEMENT WOULD LEAD TO A FALSE REFLECTION THAT THE SAID BASES IN TURKEY ARE IMPORTANT PRIMARILY FOR THE SECURITY OF THE SOUTHERN FLANK AND AS A SECONDARY DEGREE TO THAT OF THE ALLIANCE, IT IS A FACT THAT A CERTAIN NUMBER OF THOSE BASES WERE FUNCTIONING DIRECTLY FOR THE US STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCES OR FOR GENERAL INTELLIGENCE PURPOSES, THUS SERVING PRIMARILY THE US. ONE CAN RIGHTLY ARGUE THAT THESE BENEFITS ACCRUED TO THE US ARE IN A WAY BENEFICIAL TO THE ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE, HOWEVER, THIS WOULD NOT MEAN THAT THE SOUTHERN FLANK WOULD BENEFIT MORE THAN THE REST OF THE ALLIANCE IN THAT RESPECT. AGAIN, SINCE INTELLIGENCE GATHERED ON FORCE ACTIVITIES AND MOVEMENTS ALSO COVERS THOSE DIRECTED TO THE CENTRAL REGION, ONE CANNOT ARGUE THAT THE OPERATION OF THE SAID BASIS ARE PRIMARILY TO THE BENEFIT OF THE SOUTHERN REGION.

3. AS IT IS KNOWN THE DPC HAS INITIATED A STUDY WITH A VIEW TO FINDING SOLUTIONS TO THE URGENT MILITARY PROBLEMS OF TURKEY RELATED TO THE GREEK WITHDRAWAL FROM THE INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE OF NATO AND THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES HAVE ALREADY PREPARED AN INITIAL REPORT ON THE SUBJECT.

IN PARA 8, THE IMS ANALYSES THE CAUSES AND THE EFFECTS OF THE "GEOGRAPHICAL ISOLATION" OF TURKEY AND ENUMERATES THE PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A RELIABLE COMMAND STRUCTURE AS WELL AS COMMUNICATION ARRANGEMENTS.

WITH REGARD TO COMMUNICATION DIFFICULTIES, WE HAVE EXTENSIVELY EXPLAINED OUR POSITION AND CALLED FOR SOME ALTERNATIVE REMEDIAL ACTIONS. THIS PROBLEM AS WELL AS THE OTHER URGENT POSSIBLE MEASURES, WHICH I HAVE REITERATED IN THE PAST COULD NOT AWAIT THE CONCLUSION OF NEGOTIATIONS
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WITH GREECE. THE REPORT STATES THAT TURKEY WILL BE "EVEN MORE ISOLATED FROM NATO MILITARY COMMAND STRUCTURE AND THAT HER REINFORCEMENT WOULD BECOME EVEN MORE DIFFICULT THAN AT PRESENT". THE OUTCOME OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS WILL CERTAINLY AFFECT THE NATO COMMAND STRUCTURE. IT WAS WITH THAT CERTAINTY IN MIND THAT WE HAD BROUGHT TO THE ATTENTION OF OUR ALLIES CERTAIN URGENT AND IMPERATIVE MEASURES WHICH WOULD BE CALCULATED TO OFFSET THE HARMFUL EFFECTS OF SUCH ISOLATION REGARDLESS OF WHAT TURN THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH GREECE MIGHT TAKE.
END TEXT.
BRUCE.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 18 AUG 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 02 SEP 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975NATO04759
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: NATO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t197509102/abbrzlrx.tel
Line Count: 300
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: n/a
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: STATE 204792 DTG 280026Z AUG 75 B. USNATO 4368 DTG 181800Z AUG 75 C. USNATO 4567 DTG 281547Z AUG 75(NOTAL)
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 30 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <30 APR 2003 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <01 MAY 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PERMREP DISCUSSION OF US EMBARGO ON MILITARY AID FOR TURKEY
TAGS: NATO, PFOR, NGR, TU
To: STATE
SECDEF INFO ANKARA
ATHENS
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR
USLOSACLANT

USDOCOSOUTH

Type: TE

Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006